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Running head: National symbols, identification and attitudes

## **Does It Matter how I Perceive my Nation?: National Symbols, National Identification and Attitudes toward Immigrants**

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## Abstract

We examined how the ways of imagining one's own nation relate to the relationship between national identification and individuals' attitudes towards immigrants. National imagination is studied through two types of national symbols representing the nation in terms of confrontation between groups (i.e., war and sports) and a unique entity (i.e., nature and traditional culture). We found that national identification was positively associated with the degree to which individuals perceived their nation through *a historical war and sports*, which, in turn, enhanced negative attitudes toward immigrants. Unexpectedly, the degree to which individuals perceived their nation through *nature and traditional culture* was positively associated with positive intergroup attitudes. The results emphasize that the degree to which individuals perceive their nation through different national symbols is an important factor for understanding intergroup relations.

Keywords: national identity, national symbols, intergroup attitudes, national identification, content of national identity

Does it matter how I perceive my nation?: National symbols, national identification and attitudes toward immigrants

The question of when national identification among the host majority leads to negative attitude toward immigrants is especially important in times when both immigration and the national identification of the host population are increasing due to the globalization process (Fligstein, Polyakova, & Sandholtz, 2012). In Finland the amount of immigrants has increased ten-fold in 20 years, for example (Statistics Finland, 2012). Previous research has shown that the association between national identification and attitudes toward immigrants is complex and it depends on many factors such as the meaning associated with one's own nation and nationality (Meeus, Duriez, Vanbeselaere, & Boen, 2010; Pehrson, Brown, & Zagefka, 2009a).

Although some evidence reveals significant connections between the meanings associated with one's own nation, identification and attitudes toward immigrants, this line of research is still in its infancy. Previous studies focus mainly on the ethnic definition (Meeus et al., 2010; Pehrson et al., 2009a), even though a nation can be defined in many other ways, too. The nation is referred to through different national symbols in the media, advertisements and school books on a daily basis. These national symbols represent nature, traditions or sports heroes, for example, and they may be so banal that individuals do not necessarily even notice them during their everyday lives (Billig, 1995). However, we argue that these kinds of national symbols have an important role in conveying meanings that simultaneously define what constitutes the nation and how it is distinct from others. We also argue that the internalisation of these meanings on the individual-level - often unconsciously (Hall,

1997) - may be related to the association between national identification and attitudes toward immigrants. To our knowledge this issue has not been studied before.

### *National symbols and meaning*

A nation can be imagined in multiple ways (Reicher & Hopkins, 2001). A nation can be imagined as an ethnic entity, as a territorial entity, as a cultural entity or as a political entity, for example (e.g., Poole, 1999). Although a nation can be imagined in multiple ways, the ways in which a nation is imagined have to be materialised somehow. In other words, the abstract ideas associated with the nation have to be made visible so that individuals are able to communicate, to represent their national identity and to express their loyalty (Mach, 1993). Here national symbols come into play.

However, national symbols are not simply material expressions of a nation that individuals can love and through which they can construct their national identity. National symbols also have an important function in intergroup settings, and are used in marking boundaries between groups (Geisler, 2005): they distinguish one nation from others due to their capacity to convey meanings that may be complicated and abstract (see also Mach, 1993).

In this paper we focus on two different types of national symbols, those that present the nation (a) through confrontation between specific groups (i.e., *polarised national symbols*), and those that present it (b) as a unique entity (i.e., *non-polarised national symbols*). We understand uniqueness as a strategy to create meaningful identity that is not based on superiority over a specific outgroup, or on the perception that one's own nation is in opposition to others. For us uniqueness reflects the view

that there is a stable essence that distinguishes one nation from other nations on the general level (Nigbur & Cinnirella, 2007). Based on previous research (Finell & Liebkind, 2010) we suppose that national symbols that present the common territory of the nation and traditional culture emphasise the uniqueness of the nation. In addition we suppose that pictures of sports and a historical war present the nation through confrontation. In the pre-study presented in this paper we will examine these assumptions.

### *The present study*

There has not been much research so far on how the degree to which individuals perceive their nation through non-polarised and polarised symbols relate to the association between national identification and outgroup attitudes. Previous studies have shown that if the outgroup is relevant and it poses a threat to the ingroup, this enhances the association (Jackson, 2002; Livingstone & Haslam, 2008). Jackson (2002) found that the association between identification and outgroup attitudes was moderated by the perceived conflict between the ingroup and the outgroup, and Livingstone and Haslam (2008) report that the antagonist identity content moderated the association between identification and outgroup derogation. On the basis of these findings, it could be posited that national identification is more likely to be associated with negative outgroup attitudes when the meaning of the nation is based on confrontation between groups, than when it is perceived as a unique entity. It is quite possible that there is a lower need for positive differentiation among high identifiers in the latter case because the focus is on the stable essence that distinguishes the nation from others rather than on competition or conflict between groups.

The outgroup investigated in this study comprises immigrants living in Finland. In contrast to Jackson (2002) and Livingstone and Haslam (2008), who studied attitudes towards the same specific outgroup that was involved in the conflict with the ingroup, we focus on the immigrants who are not in any way related to the national symbols studied in this context. However, it is possible that the degree to which individuals perceive their nation through national symbols that emphasise intergroup confrontation also relate to the way national identification is associated with attitudes towards immigrants. Previous research has shown that immigrant groups are perceived as threatening in many European countries in particular because they pose a threat to distinctiveness: individuals try to maintain the division between groups (Pichler, 2010). The distinctiveness threat appears to strengthen the association between identification and intergroup bias (Jetten, Spears, & Manstead, 2001). National symbols that emphasise competition and intergroup conflict between the ingroup and a specific relevant outgroup represent a context in which the threat to distinctiveness is concrete and need for positive differentiation is urgent. It is possible that when such national symbols are psychologically central, national identification is more likely to be associated with negative attitudes towards immigrants than when the nation is defined as a unique entity.

We suppose that the mediation model potentially explains how *individual differences* in the perception of the nation through non-polarised and polarised national symbols are related to how national identification is associated with attitudes towards immigrants. It is possible that national identification is associated with the degree to which individuals perceive their nation through national symbols in general. This possibility refers to a mediation model, but only in the case of polarised symbols: the stronger one's national identity is, the more one perceives

one's nation through polarised symbols, and these symbols will influence attitudes towards immigrants in a negative direction. The hypothesis is presented below.

**Hypothesis:** *Polarised symbols mediate the association between national identification and attitudes towards immigrants, whereas non-polarised symbols do not mediate this association.*

Next we present the pre-study which tested if national symbols that present the territory and traditional culture emphasise the uniqueness of the nation (non-polarised symbols) more than national symbols which relate to intergroup confrontation (polarised symbols).

#### Pre-study

A pre-study was conducted in order to test that symbols related to nature and culture emphasise more the uniqueness of the nation than symbols related to historical war and sports. Nigbur and Cinnirella (2007) state that non-specific outgroup comparison (i.e., others) is associated with a sense of uniqueness whereas specific outgroup comparison (i.e., Sweden) is related to positive distinctiveness. Recently, Finell and Liebkind (2010) have also showed that specific comparison was used in order to emphasise the confrontation between the ingroup and the outgroup whereas it was not used at all when the aim was to emphasise the uniqueness of the ingroup. Based on this assumption we examined using content analysis (Krippendorff, 2004) how many specific and non-specific outgroup references the



participants spontaneously made in their essays on four different types of Finnish national symbols: nature, the sauna, ice-hockey and the Winter War<sup>1</sup>.

## Method

### *The textual corpus*

The textual corpus consisted of essays on four sets of national symbols: nature (85 essays, 9,837 words), the Winter War (32 essays, 3,229 words), ice hockey (69 essays, 7,328 words), and sauna (64 essays, 6,327 words). The participants were 16 to 19-year-old Finnish secondary school students, 17.1 being their average age. The essays were collected from five schools in the metropolitan area of Helsinki.

The data collection followed the procedure presented by Finell and Liebkind (2010) except that the questions contained both direct queries about the national symbol (e.g., *How is the thing/person/event in the picture you have chosen related to Finland?*) as well questions in which participants were asked to depict their experiences and emotions relating to the chosen symbol (e.g., *Describe in detail what is your mental image/memory*). Importantly, outgroups or otherness were not mentioned in the instructions and, in case the pictures portrayed people, they were all clearly ingroup members. The length of the essays varied from one sentence to several pages and they were all in Finnish.

### *Analytical procedure*

The analysis in the pre-study entailed three stages based on the principles of content analysis (Krippendorff, 2004). The basic unit of analysis was the clause.

(A) During the first stage, all clauses with an explicit reference to an outgroup were identified for further analysis. The minimum prerequisite for any reference to be considered ‘explicit’ was the use of a word or phrase to refer to the outgroup. In other words, clauses in which the outgroup was referred to only indirectly by a verb in the passive form (e.g., *Finland is known for its nature*), were not considered to contain an explicit reference and were excluded from further analysis. The identified references were either nouns (e.g., Sweden), adverbs (e.g., elsewhere), pronouns (e.g., others) or adjectives (e.g., international). In some cases specific outgroup references included qualifying attributes (e.g., Eastern neighbour). All clauses fulfilling these minimum conditions were included in the second stage of the analysis.

(B) The second stage involved identifying all the clauses that were part of, or contained, a rhetorical strategy to create distinctiveness (see Billig, 1987). At this point, the clauses were analysed in their wider textual contexts, and those barely mentioning an outgroup and lacking any rhetorical strategy for distinctiveness were excluded. For example, “*The ice hockey game took place in Sweden*” was excluded, whereas “*We won against Sweden*” was included.

(C) In the final stage the clauses were placed in one of two categories in accordance with the national specificity of their respective outgroup references: *specific* and *non-specific outgroup* references. The first category included only clear and explicit references to any specific nation/nations or nationality/ nationalities, and

all other outgroup references were classified as non-specific. This final stage of the analysis was conducted by two coders independently. Inter-rater agreement between the coders was close to full (Cohen's kappa = 0.99). Clauses containing two different types of outgroup reference were treated as two clauses. The analysis yielded 158 clauses in total.

## Results

### *The content of the categories.*

1. Specific outgroup references (94 clauses, 59% of the total numbers of explicit outgroup references) included the following words:<sup>2</sup> Sweden (43), Russia (15), Soviet Union (12), enemy (5), Swede (5), Ryssä<sup>3</sup> (4), Eastern "neighbour"<sup>4</sup> (2), supreme power (2), army of half a million men (1), external attack (1), France (1), French (1), Soviet army (1) and Spaniard (1).

This first category includes labels of nations or nationality (e.g., Sweden). It also contains references made to a specific outgroup in derogatory terms (i.e., Ryssä), periphrases (e.g., Eastern "neighbour"), and indicating the outgroup's army (i.e., an army of half a million men). All the words and phrases included in this category that did not explicitly include the name of a nation or nationality referred to the Soviet Union/Russia, as in the clause "In this picture citizens of Finland fought for their freedom against the Eastern 'neighbour'." Despite the lack of direct reference, however, the target was clear from the context.

2. Non-specific outgroup references (64 clauses, 41% of the explicit outgroup references) contain the following words: world (25), foreigner (12), country (7), foreign country<sup>5</sup> (4), tourist (4), elsewhere (2), everywhere (2), international

community (2), other place (2), many (1), other (1), neighbour (1) and worldwide (1).

This second category contains outgroup references that were non-specific. They tended to be in the plural form (e.g., foreigners), except for references to the world. If the reference was in the singular, it was often combined with additional qualifiers, such as “any other country” or “every foreigner”. In all the references it was clear that the object of reference was some entity outside Finland.

#### *Differences between the symbols*

In order to assess the extent to which national symbols *differ in terms of how much a nation is represented in relation to non-specific others versus in relation to specific others*, the outgroup references were cross-tabulated with the four types of symbols, and then a test of interdependency was conducted (see Table 1). As predicted, the test result showed clear and significant dependence between the distribution of specific and non-specific outgroup references and the type of symbol,  $\chi^2(3) = 61.7$ ,  $p < .001$ . Next, in order to better understand how the symbols were located on the specific – non-specific continuum, goodness-of-fit tests were carried out to find out if the differences in the portions of specific and non-specific outgroup references were significant within all the symbols: the Winter War:  $\chi^2(1) = 26.6$ ,  $p < .001$ , ice hockey:  $\chi^2(1) = 12.9$ ,  $p < .001$ , sauna:  $\chi^2(1) = 7.8$ ,  $p < .01$ , and nature:  $\chi^2(1) = 18$ ,  $p < .001$ <sup>6</sup>. Pictures representing the Winter War and ice hockey, were more likely to evoke specific outgroup references whereas those representing the sauna and nature more commonly evoked non-specific outgroup references. The findings support the notion that pictures of nature and the sauna present Finland as a unique entity (i.e., non-polarised symbols) *more* than pictures of the Winter War and ice

hockey (i.e., polarised symbols). It is important to note that we do not state that the Winter War and ice hockey do not convey *any* elements of uniqueness.

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Table 1

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### Main Study

The main study investigated *the association between the degree to which individuals perceive their nation through non-polarised or polarised national symbols and the national identification - outgroup attitudes relation*. The outgroup studied in this context comprised foreigners living in Finland. As a concept it has been used in Finnish public discourse and by researchers as a synonym for immigrants (e.g., Jaakkola, 2005).

### Methods

#### *Participants and procedure*

The data were collected at two points in time. The participants in the first set of data (55 males, 67 females, age:  $M = 43.35$ ,  $SD = 13.21$ , age range 19-65 years) were approached individually in their homes. They were asked to evaluate pictures in a booklet, one picture per page, and were then given the attitude measures. All the participants lived in Pyhtää, a municipality in the South East of Finland. The second set of data (65 males, 150 females, age:  $M = 27.50$ ,  $SD = 7.28$ , age range 19-58

years) was collected via the Internet and included the same pictures presented in the same order as in the first sample. The participants were Finnish students at the University of Helsinki.

### *Materials*

*National identification* was measured on five items (e.g., “*I consider myself to be a Finn*”, *I am proud to be a Finn*”) (Mlicki & Ellemers, 1996; Phinney, 1992). The seven-point scale ranged from (1) *totally disagree* to (7) *totally agree*, ( $\alpha = .86$ ).

In order to assess the degree to which individuals perceive their nation through *non-polarised and polarised symbols* the participants were asked to evaluate twelve pictures in terms of how well they symbolised Finland on a four-point scale ranging from (1) = *not at all* to (4) = *well* (the fifth option, “*I do not know*”, was coded as a missing value in the further analyses). The pictures represented the four types of national symbols used in the pre-study: four pictures depicted cultural traditions (e.g., the sauna, the Midsummer festival<sup>7</sup>), two showed Finnish nature, three represented the Winter War (e.g., Marshal Mannerheim<sup>8</sup>) and three depicted sports events (e.g., ice hockey) (see Appendix). All the pictures had been tested beforehand in a pilot study using an adult sample ( $N = 57$ ) and using the same scale as in the main study in order to measure how well they symbolised Finland. The means ranged from  $M = 2.75$  to  $M = 3.81$ , indicating that all the pictures were evaluated as representing Finland at least fairly well. The degree to which individuals presented their nation through *non-polarised symbols* was measured by averaging the evaluations of the pictures representing the national culture and nature ( $\alpha = .89$ ).

Similarly, the degree to which they used *polarised symbols* was measured by averaging their evaluations of the sport and war pictures ( $\alpha = .89$ ).

*Attitudes towards immigrants* were measured on four items. Two of these were revised versions of items used by McConahay, Hardee, and Batts (1981): e.g., “*Foreigners living in Finland are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights*”<sup>9</sup>; one of them was adapted from Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) and revised to fit the Finnish context: “*If foreigners living in Finland would only try harder they could be as well off as Finns are*”; and one item was adapted from Jaakkola (2005): “*Foreigners come to Finland because they want to benefit from our social security system*”. The response options ranged from (1) totally disagree to (5) totally agree ( $\alpha = .80$ ), high scores indicating more negative attitudes.

## Results

All of the bivariate correlations between the variables were significant except the relationship between non-polarised symbols and outgroup attitudes (see Table 2). National identification correlated with outgroup attitudes, indicating that the more strongly the participants identified themselves as Finns, the more negative they were in their attitudes towards immigrants. Moreover, national identification was positively related to both non-polarised and polarised symbols, but (negative) outgroup attitudes were related only to the polarised symbols. Even after controlling for national identification, the partial correlations between non-polarised and polarised symbols and outgroup attitudes showed quite a similar picture: the polarised symbols correlated significantly with outgroup attitudes,  $r(334) = .30$ ,  $p < .001$ , as well as with non-polarised symbols,  $r(334) = .35$ ,  $p < .001$ , whereas non-polarised national symbols did not correlate with outgroup attitudes,  $r(334) = -.05$ ,  $p$

=.330. However, after controlling for both polarised symbols and national identification, non-polarised symbols correlated unexpectedly and significantly with (positive) outgroup attitudes,  $r(333) = -.17, p = .001$ . This indicates that the association between non-polarised symbols and outgroup attitudes becomes apparent only when controlling for the degree to which individuals perceive their nation through polarised symbols.

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Table 2

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The participants evaluated non-polarised symbols as symbolising Finland significantly better than polarised symbols,  $t(336) = -13.00, p < .001, r = .58$ . There were no gender differences in the evaluations of polarised symbols,  $t(335) = .44, p = .660$ , whereas the women evaluated non-polarised symbols more highly than the men did,  $t(335) = -2.68, p < .01, r = .14$ , men:  $M = 3.16, SD = .72$ , women:  $M = 3.36, SD = .61$ . Moreover, age was positively associated with polarised symbols in that the older participants evaluated them more highly than the younger participants,  $r(337) = .38, p < .001$ , whereas the correlation between age and non-polarised symbols was only marginally significant,  $r(337) = .095, p = .082$ . Both age and gender were used as covariates in the subsequent analysis.

The bootstrapping approach (Shrout & Bolger, 2002) was adopted in order to test the mediation hypothesis<sup>10</sup>. The Mplus (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2009) statistical package was used for the analysis. Both age and gender were used as covariates. The model fitted the data  $\chi^2(3) = 4.54, p = .21, CFI = 1.00, TLI = .98$  and RMSEA =



.039 (Bentler, 1990; Browne & Cudeck, 1993; Hu & Bentler, 1999). As Figure 1 shows, both direct and mediated effects were present. Thus the total effect of national identification ( $\beta = .35$ ) on outgroup attitudes comprised a direct component ( $\beta = .24$ ), and a smaller indirect component ( $\beta = .11$ ). The indirect effect of polarised symbols was  $\beta = .14$ . Unexpectedly, the indirect effect of non-polarised symbols was significant as well ( $\beta = -.03$ ). This effect was due to the influence of polarised symbols, which suppressed the association between non-polarised symbols and outgroup attitudes<sup>11</sup>. The indirect effect of polarised symbols explained 40 per cent of the total effect..

The hypothesis was supported. The polarised symbols mediated, although only partially, the association between identification and outgroup attitudes. Identification was positively associated with the polarised symbols and these, in turn, were positively associated with negative outgroup attitudes. Also the non-polarised symbols were associated with national identification which shows that national identification is associated with the degree to which individuals perceive their nation through both types of national symbols. However, the association between the non-polarised symbols and outgroup attitudes was negative. The implication is that perceiving one's own nation through non-polarised symbols might even improve outgroup attitudes. Because individuals can perceive their nation through both kinds of national symbols this association became apparent only when polarised symbols were controlled for. The high correlation between polarised and non-polarised symbols supports this interpretation.

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Figure 1

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## Discussion

The aim of this study was to find out whether the degree to which individuals perceive their nation through polarised or non-polarised symbols relates to the association between national identification and attitudes towards immigrants. The results showed that the more highly identified the participants were, the more likely they were to define Finland through polarised symbols, which in turn were associated with negative outgroup attitudes. Thus, polarised national symbols partially mediated the association between national identification and outgroup attitudes as predicted. This finding is significant because it indicates that both national identification and attitudes towards immigrants are related to the degree to which individuals perceive their nation through polarised national symbols. It shows that the meaning associated toward one's own group is an important factor when we try to understand intergroup relations (see also e.g., Pehrson, Vignoles, & Brown, 2009b; Wakefield, Hopkins, Cockburn, Shek, K., Muirhead, et al., 2011). It also emphasises that if the meaning associated towards ingroup is based on the confrontation between groups, national identification does not only relate to the negative attitudes toward the same specific outgroup that was involved in the conflict with the ingroup (Livingstone & Haslam, 2008), but also to other groups that are perceived as threatening.

The analysis also showed that also non-polarised national symbols were positively associated with identification. Thus, as predicted, it seems that individuals can perceive their nation through both non-polarised and polarised symbols and that either kind of symbols is associated with national identification. The crucial difference is that the non-polarised symbols were not associated with negative

outgroup attitudes. In fact, when polarised symbols were controlled for, non-polarised symbols were even associated with positive outgroup attitudes.

This finding highlights some focal issues. Previous studies on the content of national identity have revealed a positive association between definitions of the nation through cultural tradition and ancestral bonds on an individual-level (Meeus et al., 2010), or through language on a national level (Pehrson et al., 2009b), and negative attitudes toward immigrants. These findings contradict the results reported here: traditional culture and nature<sup>12</sup> were not related to negative attitudes toward immigrants. This conflicting finding may be attributable to the different ways in which the ethnic definition of nation is operationalised in previous research. We used pictures rather than verbal statements to represent traditional culture, for example. Thus, one possible explanation for the discrepant results we obtained is that the essentialistic, ethnonationalistic discourse (Connor, 1993) used in previous studies (e.g., Meeus et al., 2010) can easily serve as a rhetorical device to reinforce group boundaries (Billig, 1987), which is why such rhetoric is associated with negative intergroup attitudes. In contrast, operationalising traditional culture via pictures showing a family in the sauna or two people celebrating Midsummer does not define in advance the degree of exclusiveness or its concomitant association with ethnonationalistic discourse. These inconsistent findings underline how much different ways of studying the nation and national identity influence the empirical results. It also shows that it is premature to judge nationality inevitably as a source of negative outgroup attitudes. The national culture can constitute a distinct and meaningful content of group identity that does not necessitate outgroup derogation.

Our study has, of course, its limitations. First, it is based on cross-sectional data, which does not allow for assessing causality. However, previous studies have

shown a causal link from national representations to attitudes toward immigrants (Meeus et al., 2010). This does not, naturally, exclude the possibility that when individuals are able to choose how they want to perceive their nation, they can represent it in a manner that justifies negative outgroup attitudes. Second, our study was conducted in a country that is still ethnically and culturally relatively homogenous. Thus, it is important to conduct similar studies in other, less homogenous countries, where ethnic – cultural boundaries are more salient and do not coincide with territorial borders. Third, we used a restricted number of pictures, which focused on a limited range of ways that a nation can be imagined. Much more research is needed on different symbols in different countries. Fourth, although our study shows that by asking individuals to evaluate pictures and to use these evaluations as items in a summed variable is sensible when the goal is to measure how people perceive their nation, the measure is, of course, meaningful only in the context of Finland. It should be understood that the aim was not to create a valid measurement instrument that could be used in different countries.

Finally, we are well aware of the fact that meanings conveyed by national symbols are the outcome of complex individual and societal processes and they are never finally fixed (Edelman, 1988). The meaning conveyed by national symbols may change over time; for example, in response to a common threat. As Livingstone, Spears and Manstead (2009) have shown, the meanings of an ingroup's attributes can depend on the wider intergroup situation. This is especially the case in the context of non-polarised symbols, which do not contain strong intergroup boundaries. However, if these symbols (e.g., cultural practices) are perceived as threatened by a specific outgroup (e.g., immigrants), also the meanings conveyed by these non-polarised symbols can change and become polarising. Perceived threat can

explain also the inconsistencies between our results and the results obtained by previous studies on cultural practices (e.g., Meeus et al., 2010). Thus, depending on a specific context and historical moment, the same national symbol can be categorised as either polarised or non-polarised.

Despite its limitations, our study presents the first attempt to understand whether the degree to which individuals perceive their nation through national symbols is associated with the relationship between national identification and attitudes toward immigrants. Given that individuals use national symbols as tools offered by the community when they are communicating with others and constructing their national identity (see Wertsch, 1991), it is important to be aware how the nation is presented in the media and educational organizations. This is especially important when the goal is to foster social stability and cohesion in society.

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Table 1

Table 1: Specific and non-specific outgroup references within the four types of symbols.

	Non-specific					
	Specific outgroup		outgroup		Total	
	references		references			
	f	%	f	%	f	%
The Winter War	37	90	4	10	41	100
Ice hockey	50	71	20	29	70	100
Sauna	7	24	22	76	29	100
Nature	0	0	18	100	18	100

Table 2

Table 2: The correlations, means and standard deviations of the major variables (N = 337)

	1	2	3	4
1. Polarised	—	.420*	.512*	.433*
2. Non-Polarised		—	.257*	.052
3. Identification			—	.389*
4. Outgroup attitudes				—
Mean	2.74	3.29	5.73	2.22
Standard deviation	0.79	0.66	1.03	0.90

Note:  $N = 337$ . \* $p < .001$

Figure 1

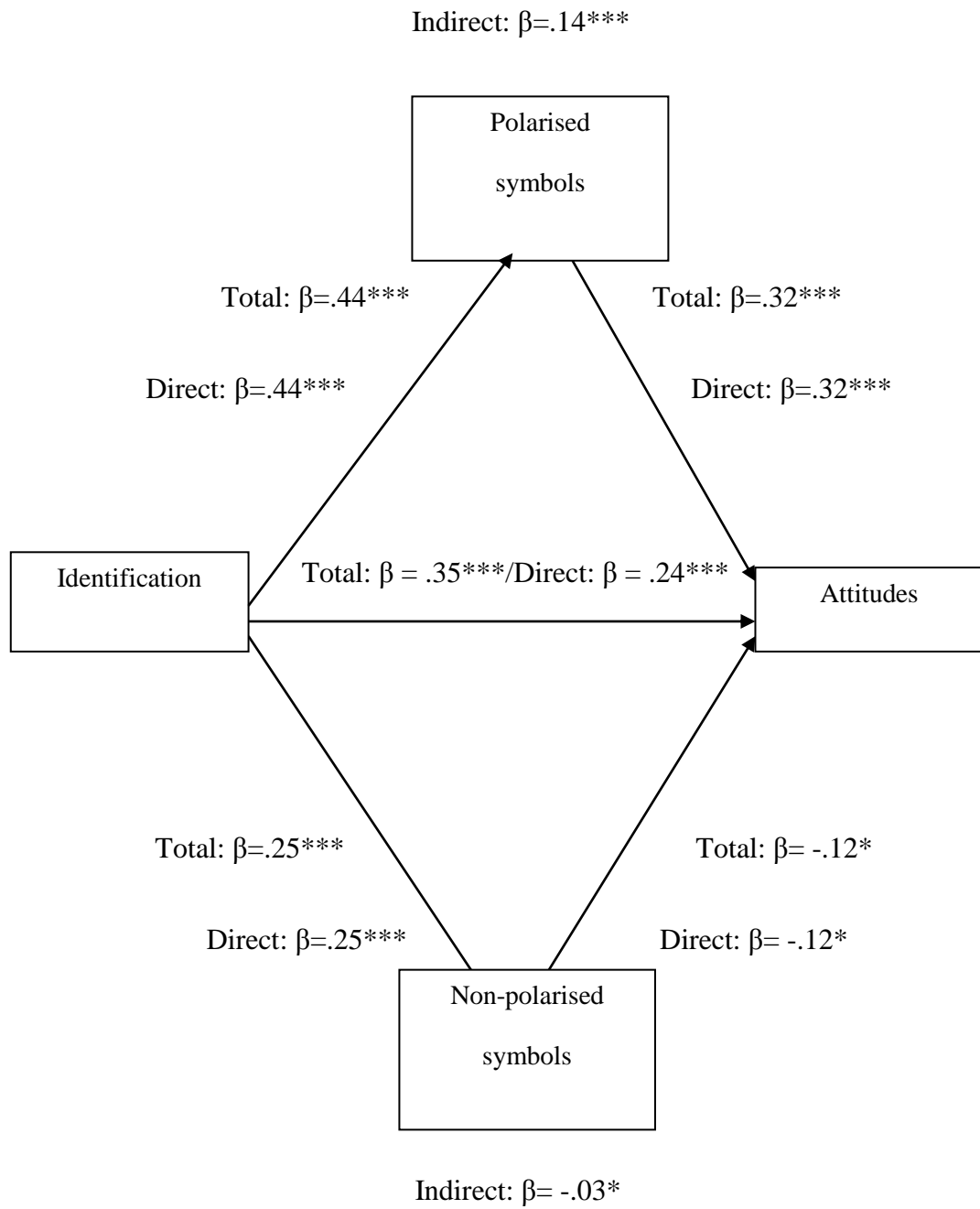


Figure 1: Standardised regression coefficients of the total, direct, and indirect effects of the model. Note:  $N = 337$ .  $*p < .05$ ,  $***p < .001$

## Footnotes

<sup>1</sup> The Winter War involved the Soviet Union and Finland and lasted less than four months in 1939-1940.

<sup>2</sup> Classifications of the first coder are presented. The words are given in their basic forms.

<sup>3</sup> A Finnish pejorative label for Russians.

<sup>4</sup> The quotation marks are in the original.

<sup>5</sup> The words *foreign country* and *country* are categorised in two different classes because foreign country (*ulkomaa*) is a compound word in Finnish.

<sup>6</sup> The expected distribution of specific and non-specific outgroup references was 50 per cent each.

<sup>7</sup> Finns usually celebrate the Midsummer festival - Juhannus in Finnish –at the summer cottage among family members and friends.

<sup>8</sup> Marshal Mannerheim was the supreme commander of the Finnish army in the Winter War.

<sup>9</sup> Akrami, Ekehammar and Araya (2000) have used these two items in their modern racial prejudice scale which they showed to be valid in the Scandinavian context.

<sup>10</sup> Also the moderation hypothesis was tested. The interaction terms were not significant (identification X polarised symbols:  $B = -.00$ ,  $\beta = -.00$ ,  $t(329) = -0.05$ ,  $p$

=.958, identification X non-polarised symbols:  $B = -.05$ ,  $\beta = -.07$ ,  $t(329) = -1.22$ ,  $p = .222$ ).

<sup>11</sup> Conger (1974, p. 36-37) defines a suppressor as “a variable which increases the predictive validity of another variable (or set of variables) by its inclusion in a regression equation” (McKinnon, Krull, & Lockwood, 2000, p. 174).

<sup>12</sup> It has been shown that many Finns associate nature with Finnish culture (Klinge, 1999).

<sup>13</sup> Photos from left to right: A. Hämäläinen, M. Karjanoja, E. Finell

<sup>14</sup> Photos from left to right: J. Sorri, Finnkino

## Appendix

Examples of non-polarised symbols:<sup>13</sup>



Examples of polarised symbols:<sup>14</sup>

